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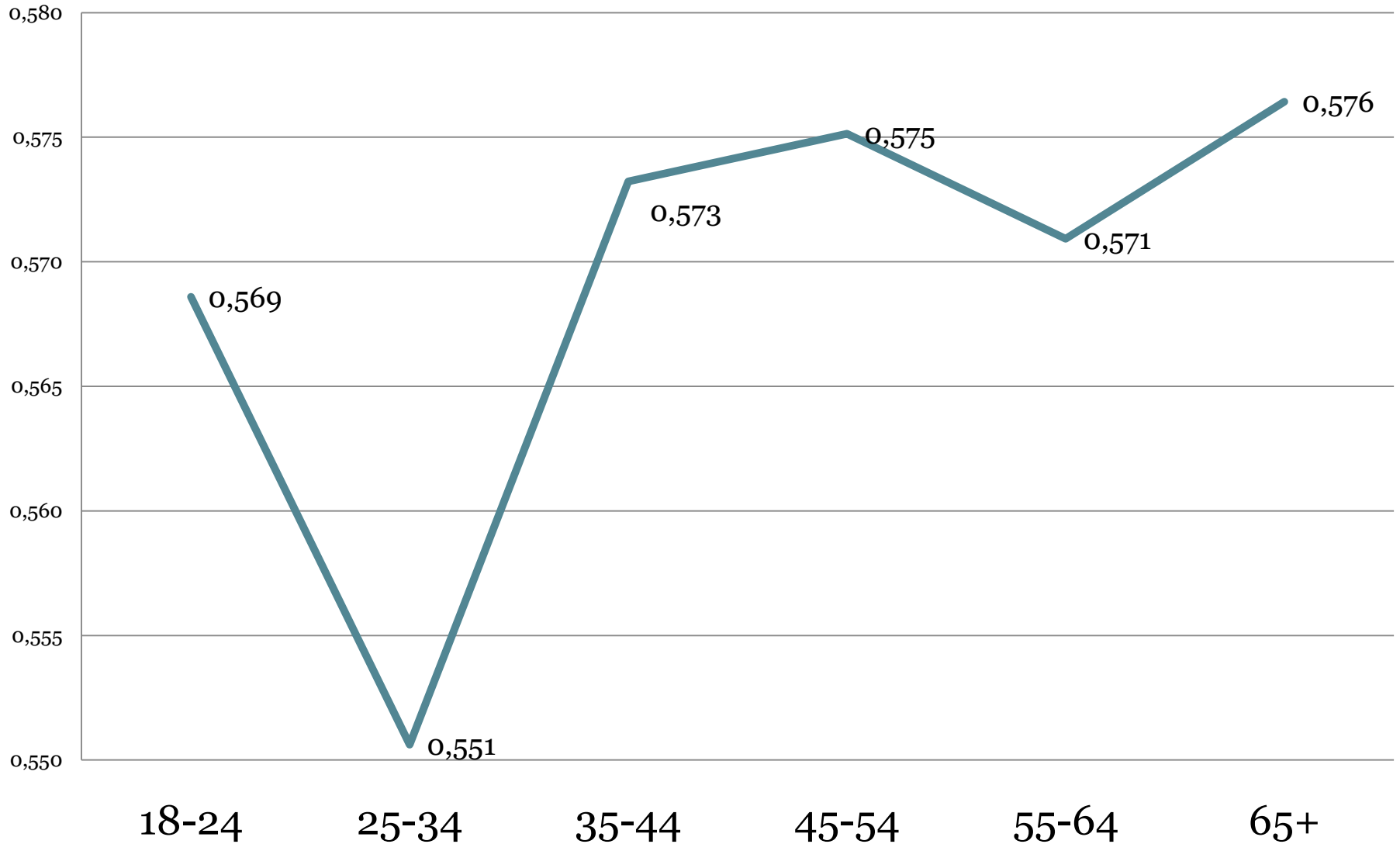


# Attitudes towards Gender Equality and Perception of Democracy in the Arab World

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# Puzzle: Gender Attitudes for Different Age Groups in the Arab World



# Research Questions



- How do attitudes towards gender equality vary across countries in the Arab World?
- Does this trend follow democracy support pattern?
- Do Arab countries repeat the global trend line of liberalization or get more religious and traditional?

# Why Are Gender Attitudes Important?



- Gender attitudes are very strong predictors of post-materialist values (Norris & Inglehart, *Rising Tide*, 2003)
- Gender Equality Index is highly and positively correlated with support for democracy for the most countries in the world (Abdel-Latif, Rizzo, 2007, McKinnon, 2007)
- Change in women's attitudes towards their role and position in society leads to significant social transformations (Moghadam, *Modernizing Women in the Middle East*, 2003)

# Previous Research



- Mark Tessler and Amaney Jamal claim that about 80% of the population in the Arab Muslim world support democracy, but none of these countries enjoy democratic regimes.
- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel find that in industrial and agrarian(including Muslim) countries differences between cohorts in terms of gender equality are smaller than in postindustrial.
- Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris argue that Muslim cultural heritage “is one of the strongest barriers for rising tide of gender equality”

# Hypotheses



- Democracy approval correlates positively with gender equality support in the Arab World
- The elderly are more conservative, younger generations are more liberal
- Men are more conservative in their gender attitudes and democratic preferences than women
- More educated people are more liberal than those who lack formal education at all or received school education only
- Degree of religiosity correlates negatively with gender equality and democracy support

# Data and Methods (1)



- 1<sup>st</sup> wave of Arab Barometer Survey (released in 2009)
- 7 countries:
  - - Algeria
  - - Kuwait
  - - Morocco
  - - Lebanon
  - - Palestine (West Bank and Gaza Strip)
  - - Jordan
  - - Yemen

## Data and Methods (2)



Index of gender attitudes was created of the following questions (0 – conservative, 1 - liberal)

- A woman can be a president or prime minister of a Muslim country
- A married woman can work outside the home if she wishes
- On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do
- University education is more important for a boy than for a girl
- Men and women should have equal job opportunities
- Men and women should receive equal wages and salaries
- A woman can travel abroad by herself if she wishes



# Data and Methods (3)



## Democracy Support Index

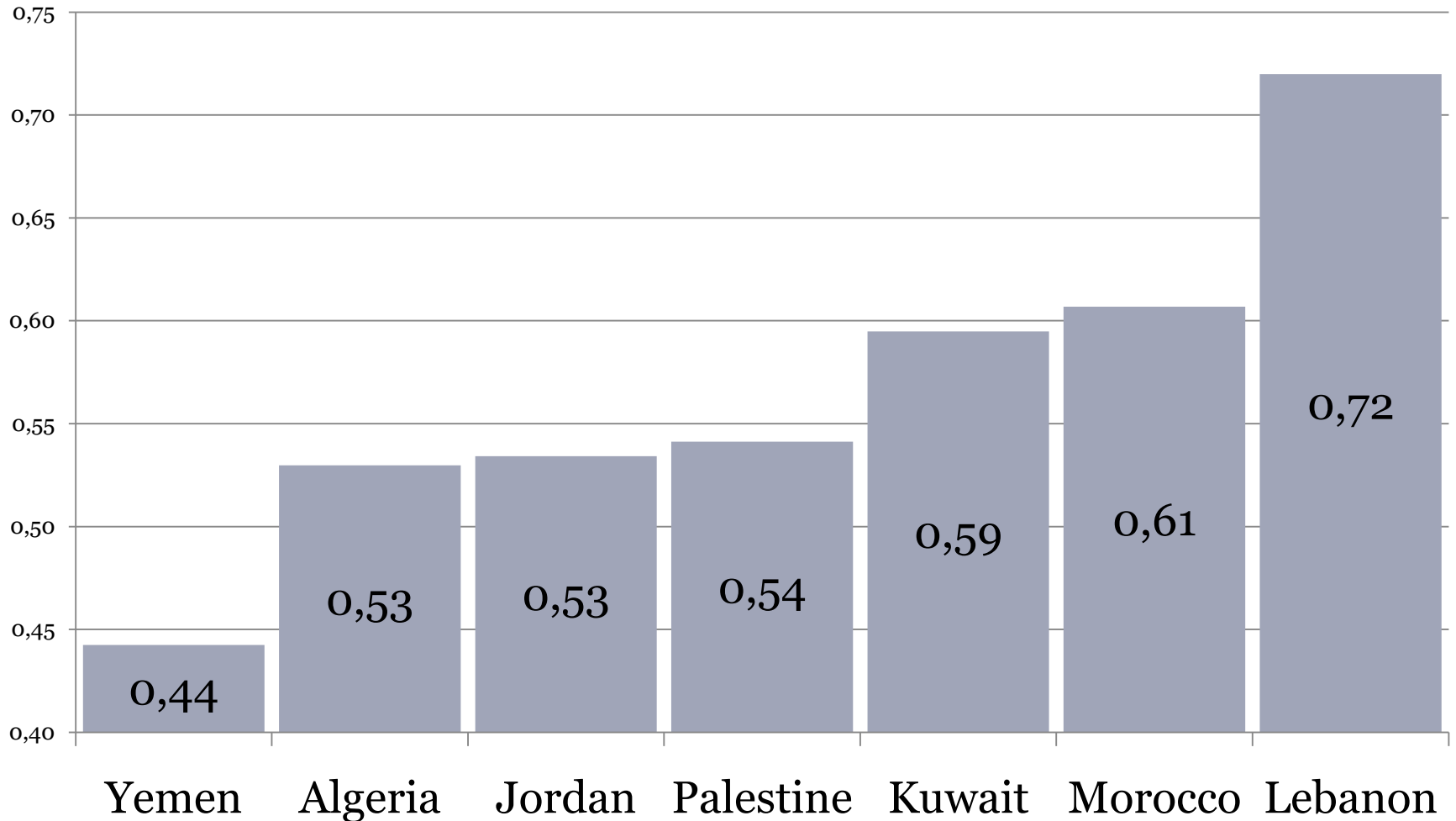
- In a democracy, the economy runs badly (reverse)
- Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling (reverse)
- Democracies are not good at maintaining order (reverse)
- Democracy may have its problems but is better than any other form of government

# Data and Methods (4)

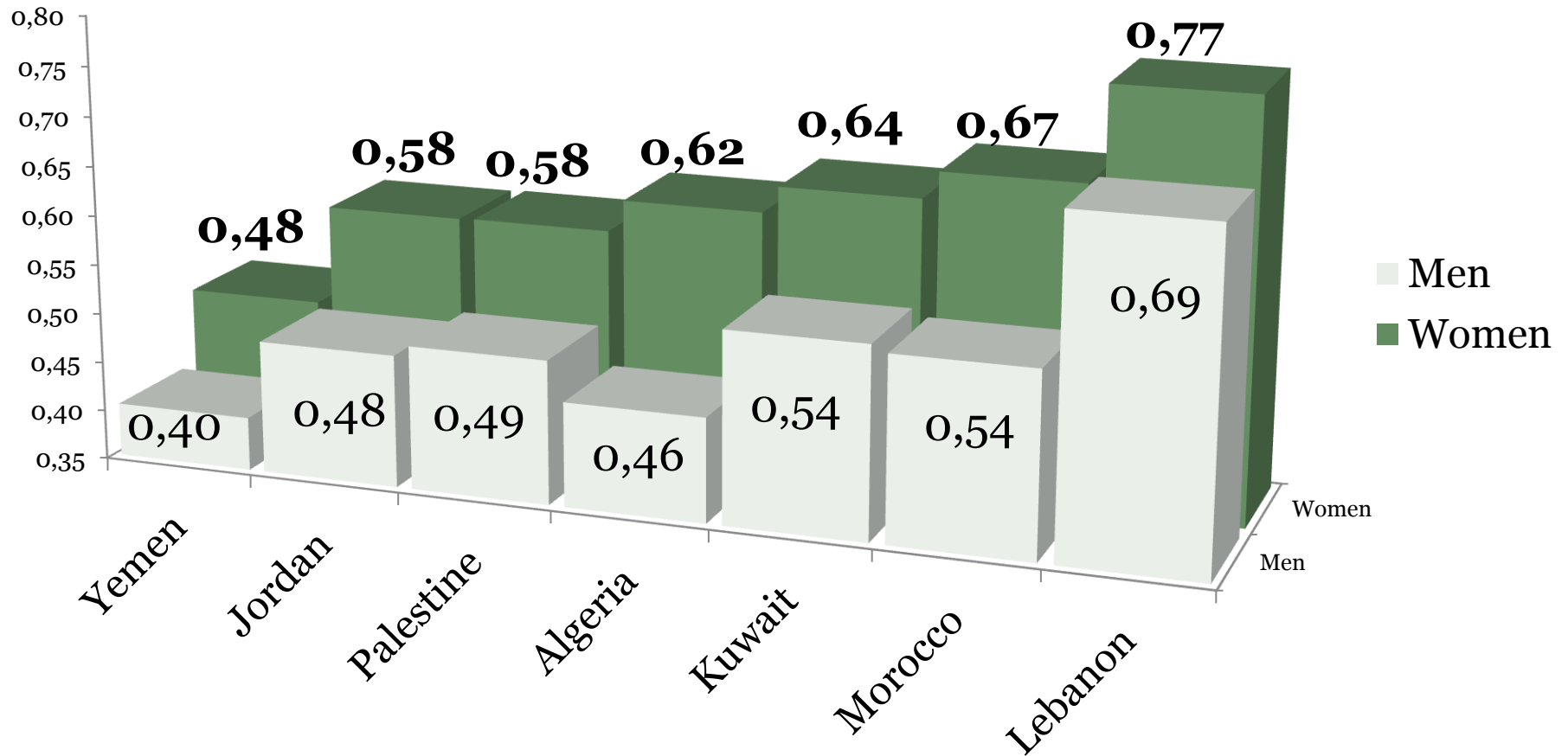


- Multiple Imputation Characteristics (MI package):  
8122 cases, 6108 after omitting missing, back to 8122 after imputation:  
1000 iterations for 10 imputations ; 10 imputations and 1000 iterations to mitigate the influence of reshuffling noise, R-hat value 1.1

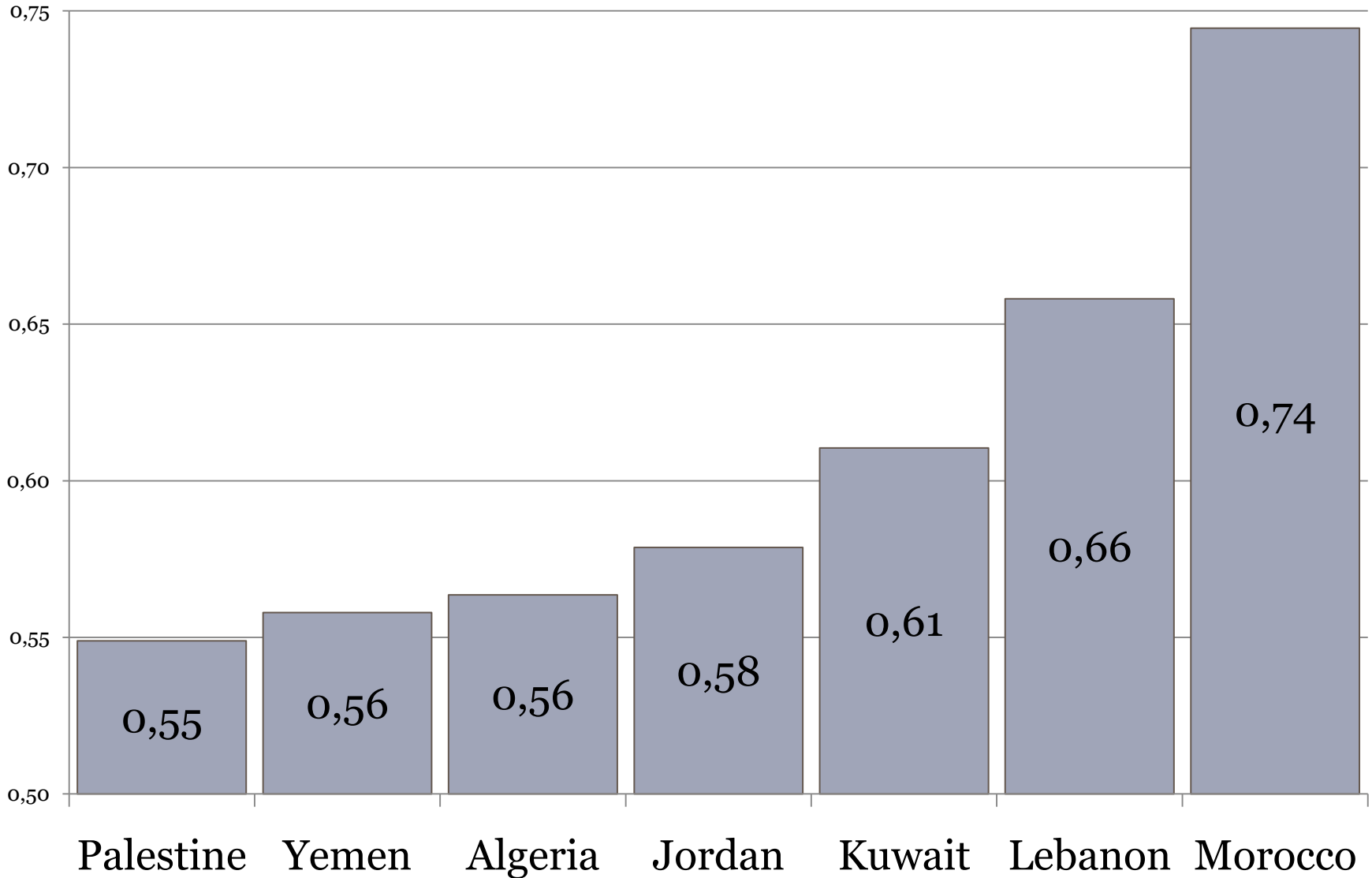
# Mean Gender Equality Index in 7 Countries



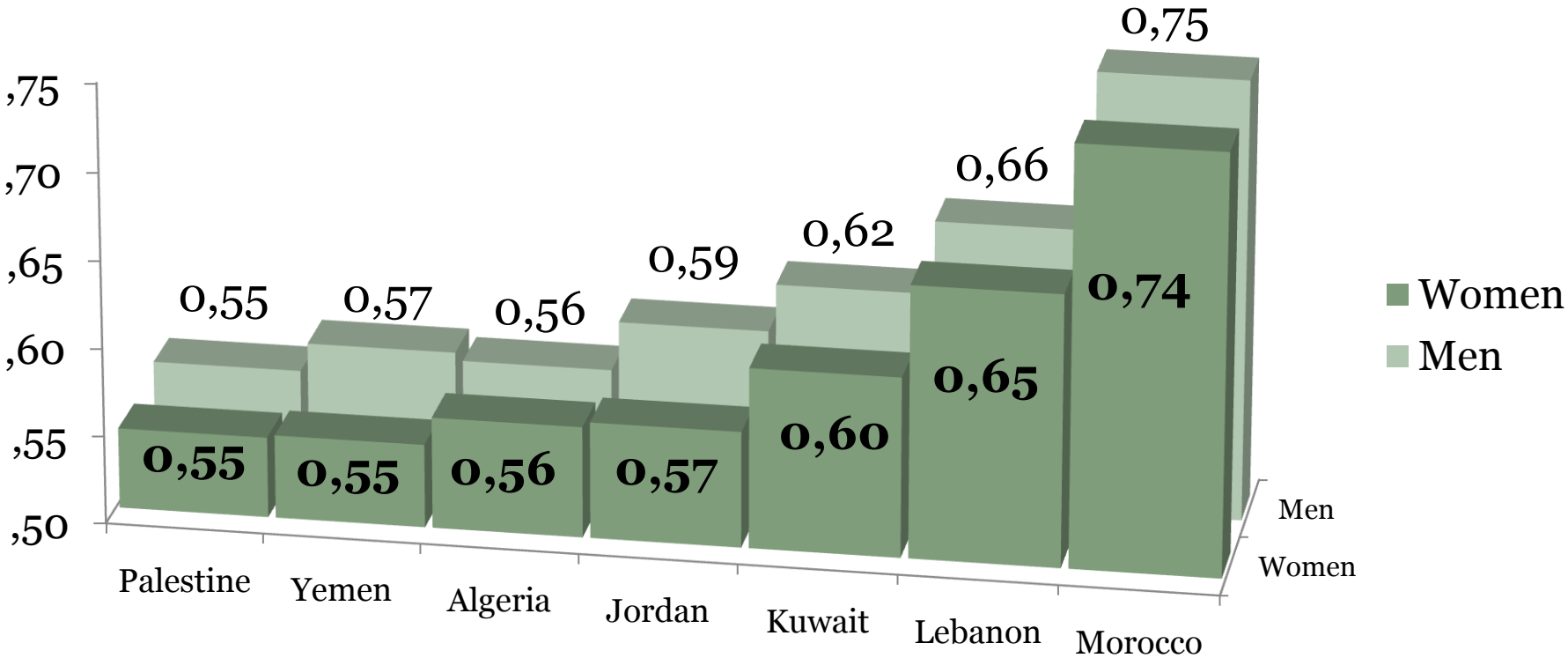
# Gender Equality Index for Women and Men



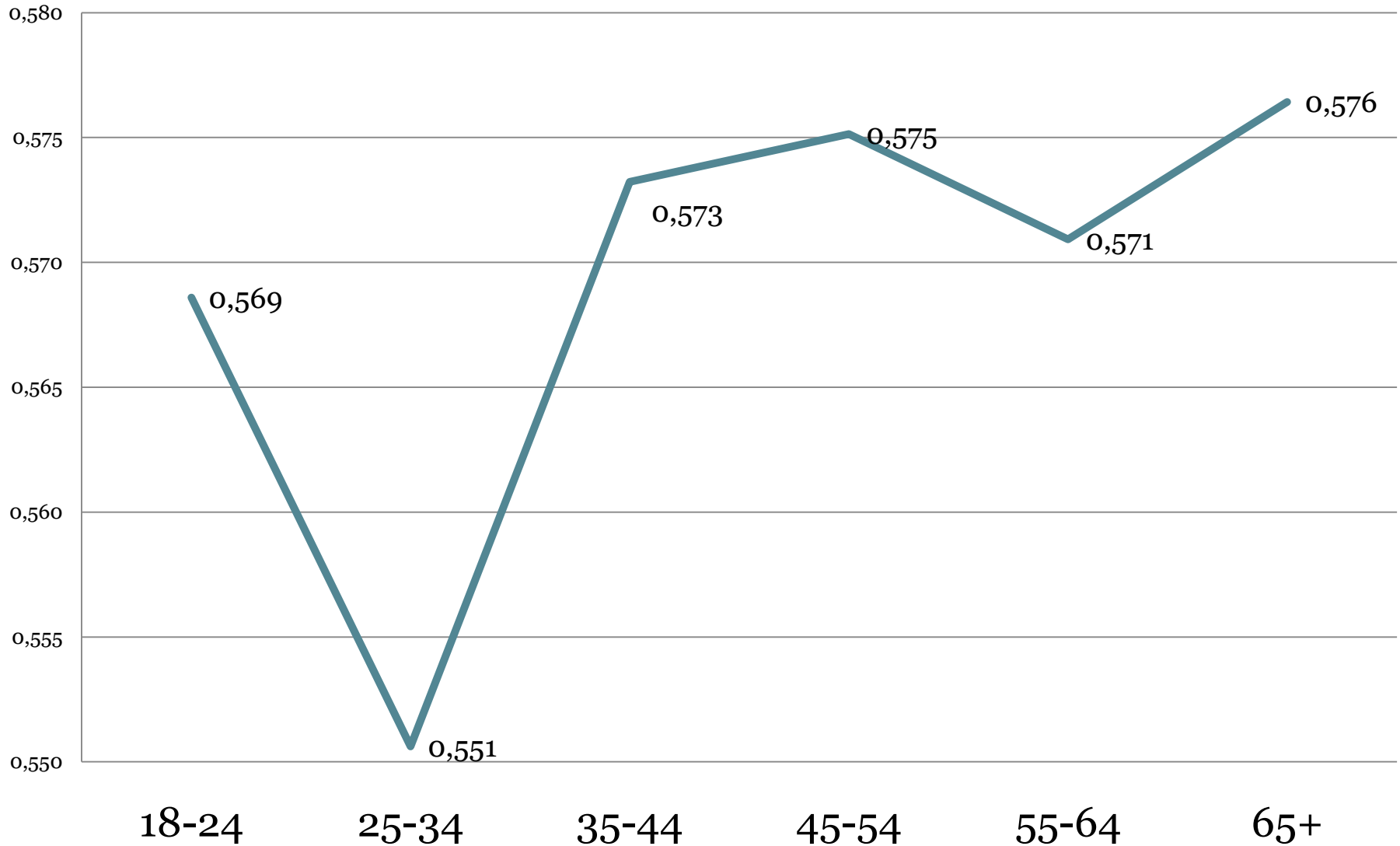
# Mean for Democracy Support Index



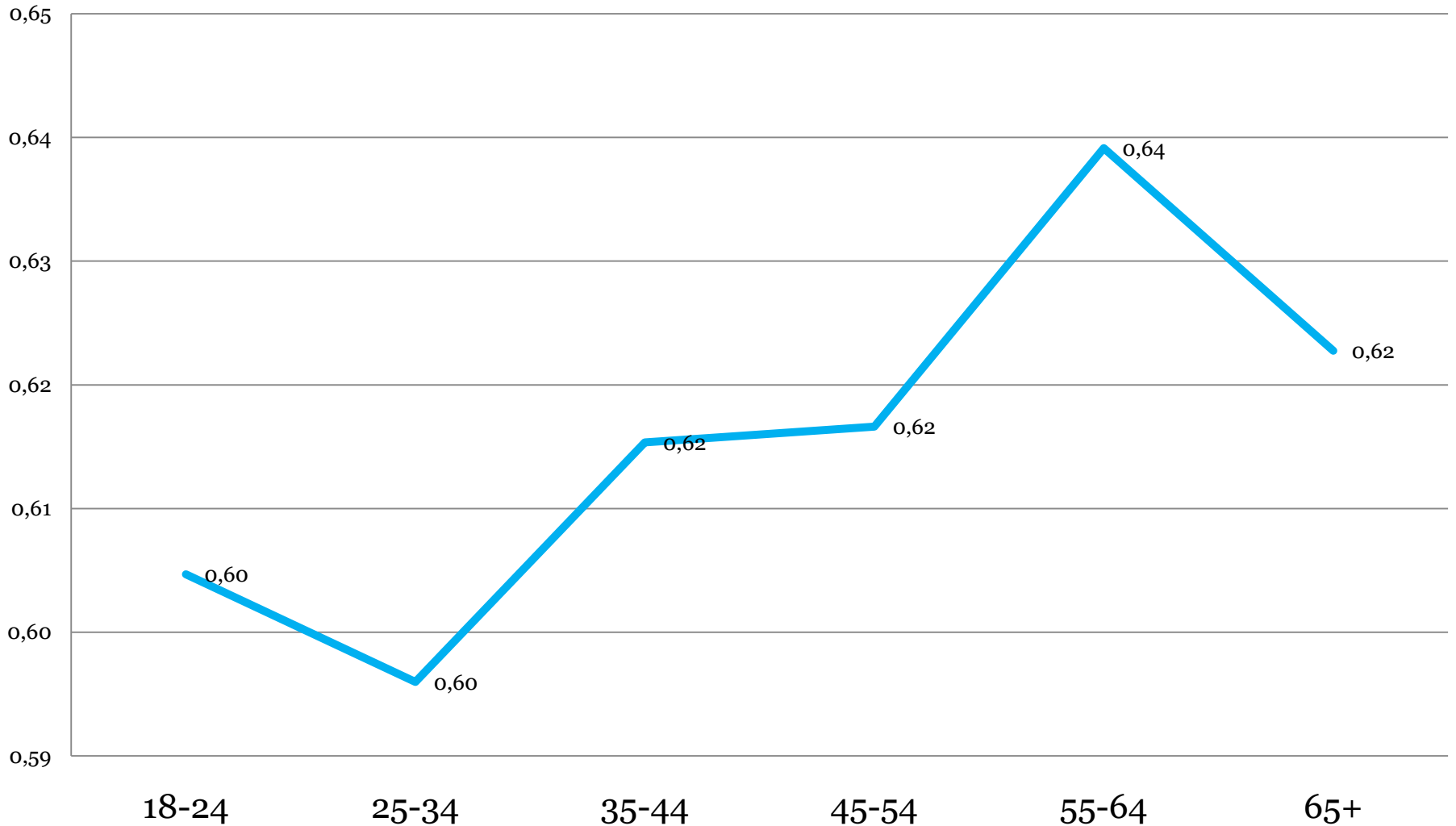
# Democracy Support Index for Women and Men



# Gender Attitudes for Different Age Groups in the Arab World

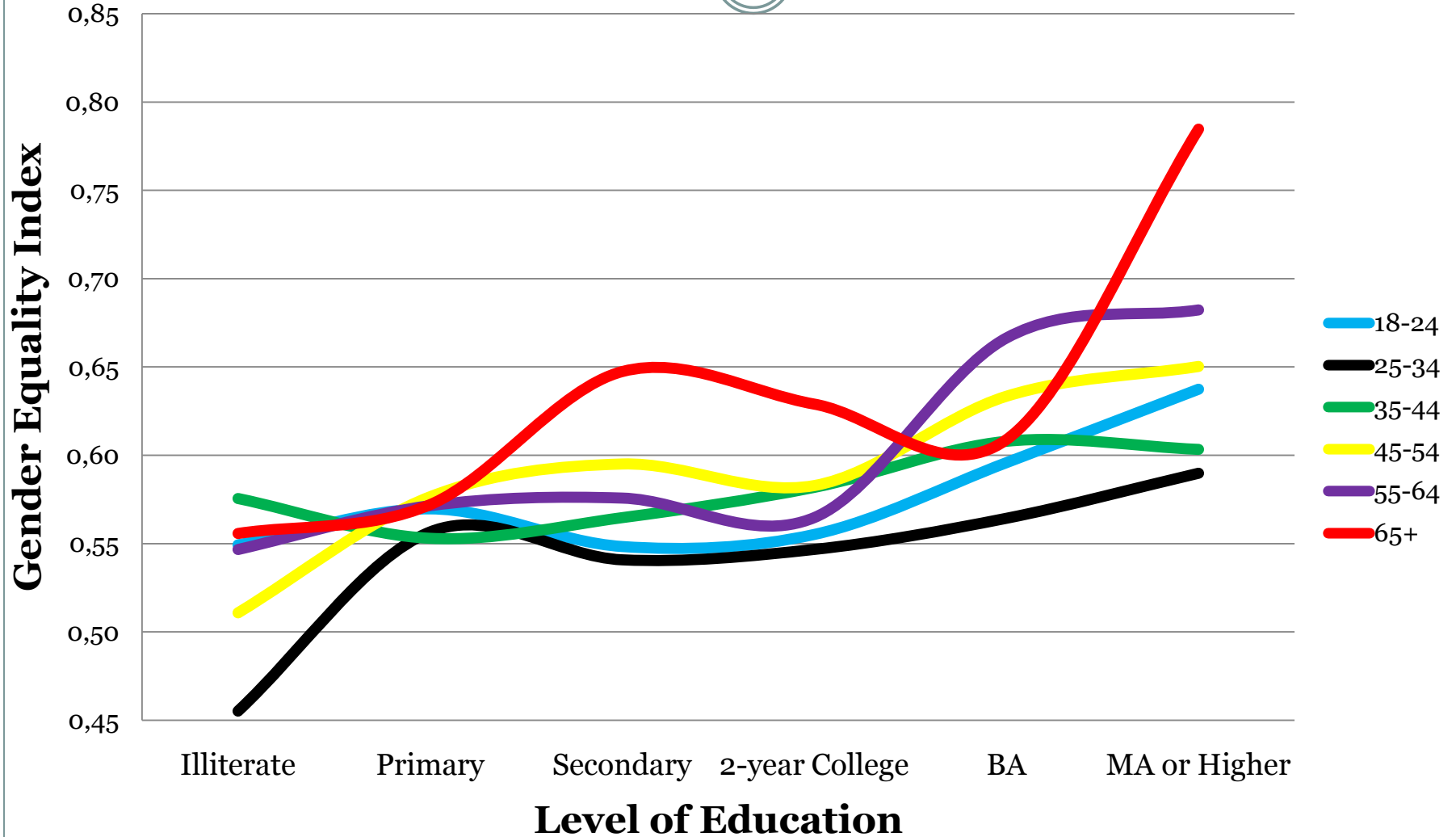


# Democracy Support for Different Age Groups in the Arab World

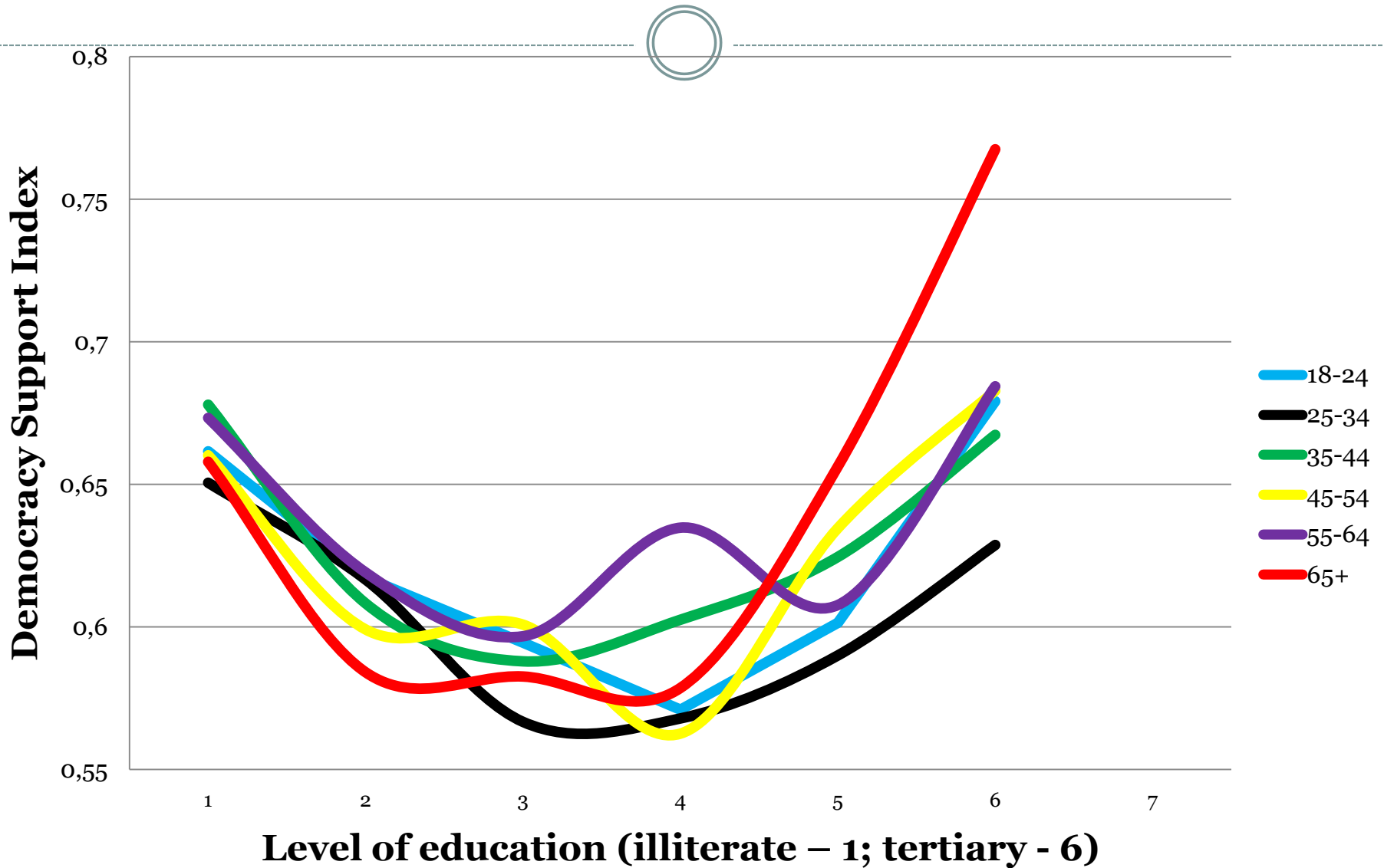




# Attitude towards Gender Equality for Various Age Groups Controlled for Education



# Attitudes towards Democracy controlled for Age and Education



# OLS, GEI – dependent variable; $R^2_{adj} = 26.7$

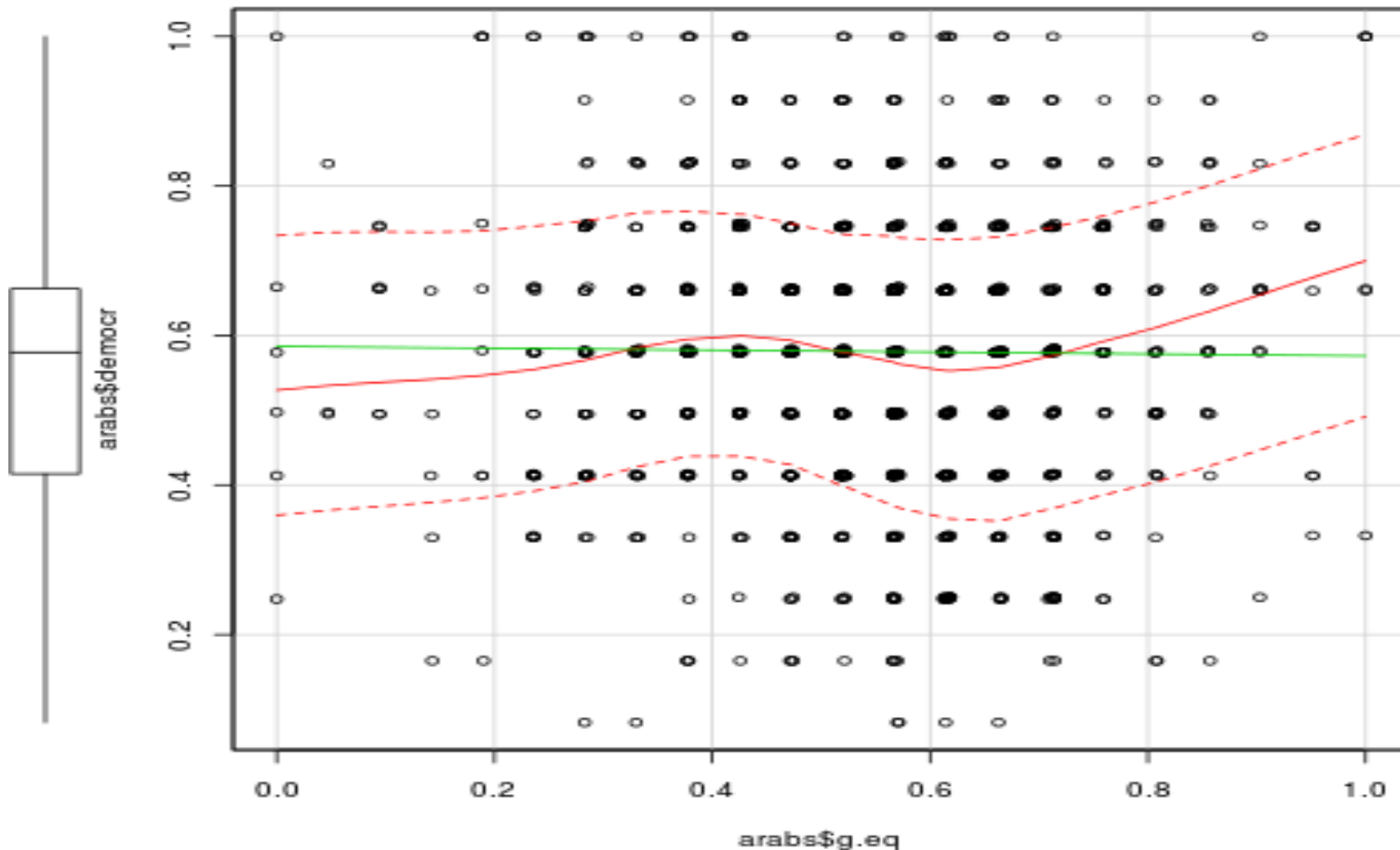
Independent	Beta	t	Significance
Gender (female)	0,12	29,97	***
Democracy index	0,12	12,03	***
Education - Primary	0,05	7,01	***
Education - Secondary	0,08	9,51	***
Education - 2-year college	0,10	10,64	***
Education - BA	0,12	13,64	***
Education - MA or higher	0,14	11,08	***
Lebanon	0,16	22,28	***
Morocco	0,06	8,20	***
Kuwait	0,07	7,89	***
Palestine	0,01	1,66	.
Algeria	-0,02	-2,30	*
Yemen	-0,09	-11,93	***
Jordan - baseline			
Age 18-24	-0,04	-3,6	***
Age 25-34	-0,05	<b>-4,44</b>	***
Age 35-44	-0,03	-2,83	**
Age 45-54	-0,03	-2,43	*
Age 55-64	-0,01	-0,63	
Quran_read often	-0,05	-8,86	***
Quran_read sometimes	-0,03	-5,19	***

# OLS Results (Gender Equality Index)

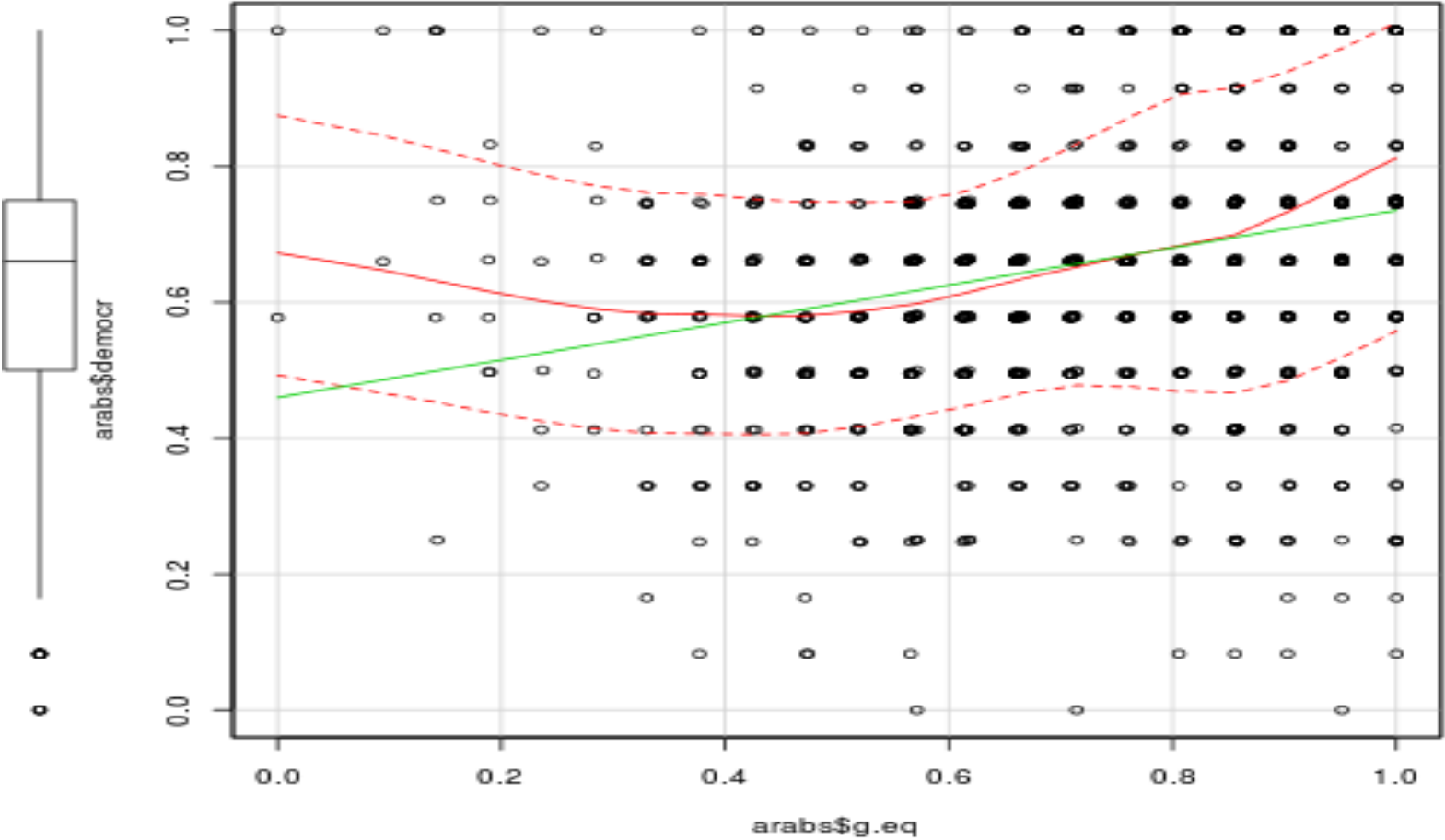


- The most liberal country is Lebanon, the most conservative is Yemen
- Men are more conservative than women
- Those people who pray every day are the most conservative in gender attitudes, those who do not pray at all are the most liberal
- The most educated people are the most liberal
- People aged 65+ form the most liberal age group in the Middle East. People from 55 to 75 are also liberal. The most conservative age group are people of 25-34 years old.

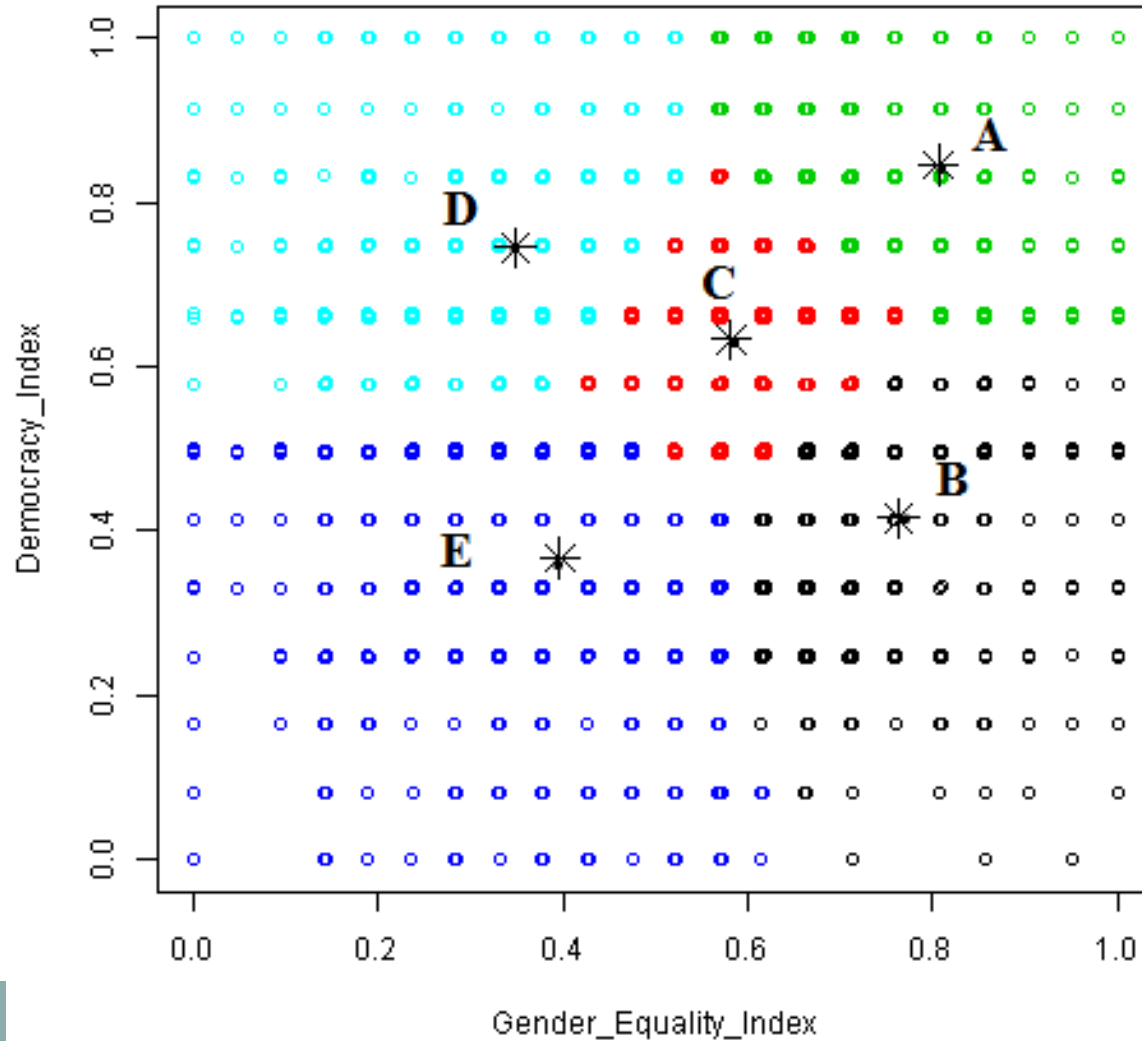
# Regression line for 2 Indices - Jordan



# Regression line for 2 Indices - Lebanon



# Cluster Analysis Results



# Poisson Regression Modeling



- Cluster A (N=1384) – Upper right

Female. Age: older than 45, few 25-34, education: MA and higher. Country: Lebanon, Morocco

- Cluster B (N=1084) – Lower right

Female. Age: non sig. Education: few MA. Country: Jordan, **not** Morocco, Lebanon, Yemen.

- Cluster C (N=2615) - Center

Male. Age: more 25-35. Education: few MA. Country: Jordan, **not** Morocco, Lebanon, Yemen

- Cluster D (N=1468) – Upper left

Male. Age: 18-34, few 45-65. Education: more illiterate, few BA and MA. Country: few Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Algeria.

- Cluster E (N=1571) – Lower left

Male. Age: 18-34, few 55-65+. Education: mostly secondary and 2-year college, much fewer MA. Country: not Morocco, Kuwait, definitely not Lebanon.



# Poisson Model – Interactive effects



Interactive effects – women are more progressive in more developed countries and more conservative in less developed societies.

- Cluster A: fewer women in Yemen.
- Cluster B, C, D, E: fewer women in Jordan, more women in Yemen.
- Cluster D, E: more men in Kuwait.

# Possible Explanations



- The elderly formed their attitudes during anti-colonial movement period (1950-1960s) which was predominantly secular, ideology of pan-Arabism and nationalism were stronger than Muslim identity.
- Collapse of the USSR and its influence zone led to archaism in certain countries of the Middle East (e.g. Yemen)
- Mid 80-s when 25-34 year-olds were formed is the time when fundamentalism gained its positions due to the influence of Persian Gulf monarchies.

# Major Findings (1)



- Modernization in the Middle East is going on as people are getting more educated, urbanized etc. In every age group taken separately educated people are more liberal in terms of gender equality support than those who received less formal education
- Simultaneously there are certain archaic trends in these societies as younger generations are far more conservative in their gender attitudes than the elderly in the Arab East.

## Major Findings (2)



- Democracy and gender equality support correlate on very low level (0,19) for the Arab world, in some countries the correlation is positive, in others – negative.
- Democracy is supported by the least and the most educated, those who are in the middle are less democratic.
- 80% of democracy support turns in fact in 17% of those who understand democracy in the same sense as in the Western world (liberal democracy, human rights, emancipative values)



**Thanks for your attention!**